2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

601 614 selves as the offspring of the mythical Omogoi-bai, in spite of the fact that they originate from his daughter, who married a Tatar or a Buryat.

583 591 606 To the end of the eighteenth century, there remained in vogue among the Yakut the custom of concession of wives. Formerly the bridegroom lived permanently in the house of his father-in-law, but in more recent times he lived there only for a definite period.

The *kalym*, or bride-price, replaced the system of marriage by capture. The origin of the *kalym* may be seen in the simulated enmity of the mother-in-law and the son-in-law.

583 587 837 842 A matriarchal system presupposes looseness of sex relations. The chastity of girls in rich families is not a question of morality but of *kalym*. The *kalym* for a widow or a girl who has had children is low. In the case of a widow, the belief in the right of the deceased husband may limit the number of wooers. A girl with a child, however, is sometimes preferred as a guaranty against barrenness which the Yakut dislike. In Yakut tales, the guest does not ask, "Where shall I sleep?", but, "Where do you put your guests?" and then they are shown to the beds of the girls. This is a form of hospitable hetaerism.

212 592 595 As the ancient Yakut had no written records, we know very little of their former life and particularly of their internal organization. Our information may be summarized in the following.

A household or yard was called *yal;* a group of individuals, who formed a family, as well as each member of the group, was called *kōrgōn*. The family consisted of blood relatives as well as of relatives by marriage: sons-in-law, wives (polygamy), adopted children, laborers, and slaves of both sexes. When the Yakut polygamist had several wives, he had several *yals*.

567 592 601 888 At the head of the family was the *aga*, meaning primarily "elder in age" and then "father." All the people of the household were regarded as and called by him "my children," "my sons or my daughters." Among these were included not only his own children, but also all relatives by blood and marriage, by adoption, by purchase (slaves), and any other dependents, as war captives. The *aga* continued to rule as long as he preserved his physical and mental abilities. According to a Yakut tradition, aged parents and also sick and crippled people, unable to work, were doomed to die and were even buried alive after three days of abundant entertainment.

181 888 Trostchansky, who lived as a political exile among the Yakut for about twenty years, characterizes them as egoistical utilitarians.[1] He

[1] Trostchansky, V. F., Notes on the Yakut of the Yakutsk District (*Memoirs, Imperial Society for Archaeology, History, and Ethnography*, vol. 27, parts 2–4, Kasan, 1911, in Russian), 97.

7: Shklovsky -- 58 T-3 (1891-92) 1916 Yakut
116. 831, 837

"The Yakuts cannot boast of a high morality.

'Any mare may bear a dead colt, any egg may go bad, any girl may bear a child! ' So they formulate their opinion of the virtue of their girls. Conjugal infidelity is very common, but the husband is not distressed or annoyed, except when his hut is taken from him by the lover. 'A stranger takes my fire and uses it! ' he then complains. Unhappily, also, incest is frequent among the Yakuts."

19: Kharuzin --42 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut-1-2
116, 178, 562, 586 594, 837

The absence of any rights on the part of woman, among the Yakuts of the district studied by M. Pripuzov, is most marked... in the field of property relations. Her personal position is at the present time considerably better protected than in earlier times. In this respect one notes in the life of the Yakuts a definite, although naturally a very relative progress. In effect, even at present, the husband considers himself within his rights to beat up his wife if she neglects her household duties, if she is a spendthrift, or if she is unfaithful to him. The Yakut further has the right to put his wife out to hire as a workwoman, and to use the money earned by her. But he does not have the right to kill her; he cannot sell her, or lend her to someone else.

Instances of the cession of wives to other men, as is known, were encountered among the Yakuts up to the end of the 18th century, while the existence of the custom of lending one's wife to a guest is substantiated by traditions (Vsesoiuzone Geograficheskoe obshchestvo, Vostochno-Sibirskii Otdel, Izviestiia, XXVI, No. 4-5, pp. 218-19). As concerns instances of putting our wives to work, Prince Kostrov (Ocherk iuridicheskoe byta IAkutov [Juridical Customs of the Yakut]. p. 283) communicates the rather interesting fact that this practice has as its object to effect a separation from the wife: after a church wedding the Yakut rarely leaves his wife, but since such marriages are often consummated against the will of the parties involved, the husband sometimes abandons his wife, who customarily finds herself a lover, to whom she goes to live. In order to avoid prosecution by the authorities, writes Prince Kostrov, the husband and the lover

make an oral and sometimes even written agreement to the effect that the former is hiring his wife out to the latter in the capacity of a servant with her consent and for the upkeep of the household.

19: Kharuzin -- 42-43 E-4 (no date) 1898 Yakut
116, 462, 562, 578, 614, 837

If the husband beat his wife without good reason, from the point of view of the Yakuts, she has the right to complain to the clan government or to apply for protection to the Natives'Court. The husband is not oblidged to maintain fidelity; he can abandon his wife, live in another place, cohabit with another woman. The wife, on the contrary; must preserve fidelity, although occasional relations with other men, if they take place with the consent of the husband, are regarded by the Yakuts with complete indifference. [43] Although at the present time the personal position of the wife in relation to her husband has changed for the better, in comparison with the past, to her lot, nevertheless, continues to fall the most arduous domestic labor. Except where the family is rich, or the wife is richer than the husband, the duties of the woman include more than the care of the household; the care of the cattle, the making of cheese and butter, the painting of the yurt, and often even the mowing of hay, cutting of wood, etc., if the husband cannot manage the other jobs by himself.